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**THE BODY ECLECTIC:
SOURCES OF RAY BRADBURY'S
MARTIAN CHRONICLES**

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There is an intriguing five-year gap between the time that Ray Bradbury first envisioned a book about people on Mars, and the time that he rediscovered that intent and produced his remarkable first novel, *The Martian Chronicles*. Bradbury's new introduction to the Fortieth Anniversary Edition recalls the crucial moment of rediscovery, a New York luncheon in June 1949 with Don Congdon, Bradbury's literary agent, and Doubleday editor Walter I. Bradbury (no relation). At the urging of California writer Norman Corwin, the twenty-nine-year-old author had traveled to New York from Los Angeles with fifty new stories and enough money to stay at the YMCA for a week. It was an exciting time for Bradbury—O. Henry Prizes in 1947 and again in 1948 were leading to recognition beyond the secondary market of the pulp magazines. He had already published a horror story collection with August Derleth's specialized Arkham House imprint; now, Bradbury and Congdon used the New York trip to showcase his stories for the major publishing houses.

But Bradbury found that story collections by bright new writers weren't selling; Walter Bradbury was the last in a long line of editors that week who asked "Is there a novel in you somewhere?" Like so many times before, Bradbury found himself explaining that he had always been a short story writer, and probably always would be. The other editors had shown no interest, but this time the response was different:

Walter Bradbury shook his head, finished his dessert, mused, and then said:

"I think you've already written a novel."

"What?" I said, "and *when*?"

"What about all those Martian stories you've published in the past four years? Brad replied. "Isn't there a common thread buried there? Couldn't you sew them together, make some sort of tapestry, half-cousin to a novel?"

"My God!" I said.

"Yes?"

"My God," I said. "Back in 1944, I was so impressed by Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*,

that I told myself I must try to write something half as good, and set it on Mars. I sketched out an outline of characters and events on the Red Planet, but soon lost it in my files!"

"Looks as if we've found it," said Brad.¹

Although the outline was long forgotten, Anderson's masterpiece may have served as a subconscious pattern for the Martian stories which followed; indeed, in his extensive interviews with Professor David Mogen in 1980, Bradbury observed that despite the five-year hiatus, the developing concept of *The Martian Chronicles* "was all due to *Winesburg, Ohio*."²

But to assume that in 1949 Bradbury simply plugged his Martian tales into the *Winesburg* formula is misleading. During the summer of that year, he heavily revised a select group of his Martian stories, added new stories, and wrote eleven bridging chapters for the new book. Even then, Bradbury sensed that the chronicles were something entirely different from the original plan:

By the time our first daughter was born in the autumn of 1949, I had fitted and fused all of my lost but now found Martian objects. It turned out to be not a book of eccentric characters as in *Winesburg, Ohio*, but a series of strange ideas, notions, fancies, and dreams that I had begun to sleep on and waken to when I was twelve. (MC40, ix)

The textual history of *The Martian Chronicles* remains the great untapped source of information about Bradbury's creative process in writing his first novel. Viewed as a process, the transformation of these tales helps to define the structural and thematic unities of the book, and to determine just what kind of book it is.

* * * * *

The earliest of Bradbury's fancies and dreams about Mars dates to his juvenile reading. By 1932, he had discovered and consumed the romantic Martian tales of Edgar Rice Burroughs; that year, at the age of twelve, he wrote a short story titled *John Carter of Mars* on his toy typewriter.³ But he envisioned a different Mars when, in 1940, he wrote his first serious Martian story, "The Piper." It appeared (under the pen name of Ron Reynolds) in the fourth and final issue of *Futura Fantasia*, the amateur "fanzine" which he had created and edited since his

graduation from Los Angeles High School in 1938. The story is lyrical and dream-like, a cautionary tale which describes the exploitation of Mars by Earthmen of the future. Though short (barely 1200 words), "The Piper" anticipates a central theme of *The Martian Chronicles* and is clearly a forerunner of Bradbury's unique stylistic approach to the genre, but the story was too unconventional to earn a professional sale. With Julius Schwartz, an agent well-known to science fiction editors, Bradbury re-wrote "The Piper" to the fast-action formula required by most of the science fiction pulps, and placed it in the February 1943 issue of *Thrilling Wonder Stories* for the then-significant sum of \$60.00.⁴

But three more years would pass before Bradbury published another Martian story. His experience marketing "The Piper" revealed that his evolving style was not what the science fiction magazines were looking for. He continued to place occasional fast-action stories in the science fiction pulps, but the encouragement of mystery/detective fiction editor Ryerson Johnson led Bradbury to write for detective magazines during the remaining war years. From 1943 through 1945 he placed 43 professional stories, but only one out of every four was a science fiction tale, and most of these were formula pieces.

There were, however, discoveries during these years which would lead to *The Martian Chronicles*. In 1943 Bradbury wrote a fine space story, "King of the Gray Spaces," and placed it in the year-end issue of *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*. With this story, Bradbury first realized the themes of the space frontier which would inform much of his best science fiction. This stylistic maturity and thematic sophistication began to appear in his horror and fantasy work as well. With "The Wind" (1943), "The Lake" (1944), and "The Jar" (1944), Bradbury hit his stride as a master of the thriller.

Sometime in 1944, fellow writer and longtime friend Henry Kuttner told Bradbury about *Winesburg, Ohio*, and this discovery led to an outline titled "Earthport, Mars." The outline, which still exists, lists Winesburg-like title characters for twenty-one stories about Martian settlers from Earth.⁵ At this point in his writing, the connection was a natural one—the lonely, half-mad piper of his first Martian story was a grotesque figure of dreamlike proportions, rallying the displaced of Mars to rise up and drive out the Earth men. Such characters would appear in later Martian tales, but more and more the emphasis would center on the theme of exploration, of sacrifice, achievement, and the dangers inherent in the desire to make over new lands in familiar images. These themes would subsume the isolated

grotesques and center most of the subsequent Martian stories on explorers, settlers, exploiters, and idealists.

The full canon of Martian tales produced during the late 1940's is not too difficult to define. Between 1946 and the publication of *The Martian Chronicles* in May 1950, Bradbury published twenty-two Martian tales in various magazines. Most of these were sold to the pulps, but Don Congdon (who became Bradbury's agent in 1947) managed to place reprints in major market slick-paper magazines and fiction anthologies. Three new stories appeared in the first edition of *The Martian Chronicles*, and two more were added to some later editions. Seven more Martian stories were published between 1950 and 1982, but all were written with the others in the late forties. Add to these thirty-four at least four extant story typescripts and three story fragments for Martian tales which never reached print. All of these materials were on hand in some form when Bradbury made his June 1949 trip to New York (Appendices A-C).

THE A-CHRONOLOGY

On the evening after his luncheon with Walter Bradbury, he returned to his room at the YMCA and spent most of the night going over the raw materials in his mind:

It was a typical hot June night in New York. Air conditioning was still a luxury of some future year. I typed until 3 A.M., perspiring in my underwear as I weighed and balanced my Martians in their strange cities in the last hours before the arrivals and departures of my astronauts. (MC40, ix)

In the morning he gave Walter Bradbury the outline and received in return a contract and a \$750 advance. This outline—perhaps the original, but more likely a subsequent draft—still exists, providing invaluable clues about the long night's work. It bears no title other than "chapters," but for purposes of analysis it can be called the "A-Chronology" in order to identify its priority over later documents. The A-Chronology identifies seventeen numbered chapters with titles that are traceable to actual stories in all cases, with possibly one exception. Five of the chapters are identified as "unfinished." The completion status of the various titles, their order in the A-Chronology, and the content of the sixteen identifiable stories come together to reveal just how Bradbury first envisioned the completed project.

As his comments indicate, he spent much time that night on the opening third of the book, which relates to Mars at the moment of first contact between Earth men and the ancient, wiser, but extremely xenophobic Martians of Bradbury's imagination. He selected encounters of four kinds, three of which were already in print: "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright," a novelette from the June 1948 issue of *Thrilling Wonder Stories*; "The Earth Men," a shorter work from the August 1948 issue; and the chilling "Mars Is Heaven!" from the Fall 1948 issue of *Planet Stories*. In their original forms these three encounters represented completely unrelated tales of first contact; the only common thread was the Martian culture itself, which was already forming in Bradbury's mind as an identity so alien that most Earthmen would not be able to understand it—or even to perceive its deadly instinct for self-preservation. In both "The Earth Men" and "Mars Is Heaven!," Earth's astronauts are destroyed by their own inability to sort out illusion from reality. The Martians of "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright" are long dead, but the tension between those Earthmen who would preserve the planet's past and those who would grind it underfoot nearly destroys this expedition as well.

Preceding these titles, Bradbury typed the name "Ylla" from yet a fourth encounter with the Martian culture, an as-yet unpublished tale which subsequently appeared in the 1 January 1950 issue of *Maclean's* (Canada) as "I'll Not Look for Wine." Ylla is the central character of this story, a Martian woman, estranged from her husband, and who receives the thoughts of Nathaniel York of Earth's first Martian expedition, still several day's journey out in space. She is terrified, then drawn to the alien consciousness until her husband, sensing the telepathic relationship, seeks out the landing site and kills York and his crew-mate. The story is one of the best Martian tales, written late enough in the sequence that Bradbury had fully developed his vision of a bronze-skin, golden-eyed race with exotic art forms and jaded temperament. By placing this story first, Bradbury had decided to open the book with a long and fascinating look at an ancient civilization on the verge of extinction, a culture clearly unable to assimilate what Earthmen would bring.

The first third of the A-Chronology included two more titles. "Rocket Summer" (identified in A as unfinished) would become the first of the eleven bridge passages, opening the novel with an emotionally charged prelude to the new voyages of discovery. The failed voyages of "Ylla," "The Earthmen," and "Mars Is Heaven" appear in that order, followed by "The Death Disease," a bridge which Bradbury wrote as an explanation for the death of the Martians prior to the action of "...And

the Moon Be Still as Bright.” As Ylla’s husband succumbs to “The Death Disease,” he realizes that it was carried to Mars by the very Earthmen he had killed. In outline, these first four stories and two bridges chronicle the demise of the Martian culture, leaving Earth’s explorers with a precarious claim to the legacy of the Red Planet.

The A-Chronology also indicates that Bradbury had a good idea of the final portion of the book very early on. For the climax of the chronicles, he selected three of his previously published tales which, though independent, share the situational irony of a colonial society whose cultural lifeline is severed by the ravages of atomic war back on Earth. These stories appear in the outline under their original titles: “The Off-Season,” (*Thrilling Wonder Stories*, December 1948), “The Long Years,” (*Maclean’s* (Canada), 15 September 1948), and “The Million Year Picnic,” (*Planet Stories*, Summer 1946). Between “The Off Season” and “The Long Years,” Bradbury placed a new story titled “There Will Come Soft Rains.” This unpublished story eventually appeared in the 6 May 1950 issue of *Collier’s*, just prior to publication of *The Martian Chronicles*. One of the most anthologized of Bradbury’s stories, “There Will Come Soft Rains” describes the last day in an automated house of the future which has miraculously survived total atomic war only to die, part by robotic part, in the flames of a freak natural accident.

“There Will Come Soft Rains” is not about Mars at all, but it brings the parallel chronology of the mother planet into focus at the moment when war of unimaginable proportions drastically alters the future of the Martian colonies. It follows “The Off-Season,” the story of Sam Parkhill’s bittersweet realization of the American dream on the eve of Earth’s war. He opens the first hot-dog stand on Mars at a lonely crossroads, envisioning a booming business from future waves of migrant laborers; but before his gaudy neon lights can attract a single customer, representatives of the ancient Martian culture emerge from hiding to offer Parkhill a “gift.” Fearing the loss of his stake in the new world, he kills most of his visitors before realizing that the gift is a deed to vast tracts of the planet. Parkhill cannot comprehend why the Martians have offered him the opportunity to become a “true” Martian until he sees the explosions of Earth’s war in the night sky. He is left in shock, while his wife sarcastically describes the tragedy in business terms—they are in for a very, very long “off-season.”

“There Will Come Soft Rains” brings home the mindless destruction of those distant explosions with visceral impact, and sets up a timeline for the two alternate future views of Mars which conclude the collection as first planned. “The Long Years” tells the story of Doc

Hathaway, the physician and archeologist who is marooned on Mars when Earth recalls all colonists during an atomic war back home. A rescue ship from a rebuilt Earth finds an aging Hathaway twenty years later, but the crew is mystified that his wife and three children have not aged at all. Hathaway suffers a fatal heart attack from the excitement of rescue, and the crew soon discovers that his "family" is really a marvelous robot family built as exact replicas for the wife and children he had lost years before to plague. The rescuers bury Hathaway, but cannot bring themselves to terminate the lifelike robot family; they are left to continue their ritualized family routine, an endless illusion of life on a dead planet. "The Million-Year Picnic" offers a positive alternative to the death and sterility of "The Lonely Years." This final tale chronicles a post-holocaust family which comes to Mars not as conquerors, but as refugees. These new "Martians" establish a "Million-Year" future on their new planet by adopting it rather than exploiting it. "The Million-Year Picnic" was the first of his Martian tales to reach print after "The Piper," but even at this early conceptual stage there are glimpses of the same ancient but incredibly fragile Martian culture that he would develop in the later stories. Bradbury returned to this early vision of the encounter between Earth and Mars to close out the new book with a sense that mankind still has a chance to start over.

From the beginning, conceiving and organizing the middle section of the book presented the most problems. Seven titles appear in this section of the A-Chronology, six of which are readily identifiable. But only three of these stories—"The Martian," "Usher II," and "Way in the Middle of the Air"—would find their way into the first edition of *The Martian Chronicles*. The tentative nature of this section is reinforced by Bradbury's own notation that the other four stories—"The Fathers," "The Naming of Names," "Love Affair," and "The October Man"—were unfinished when the outline was prepared. In fact, none of these seven had as yet reached print, and only three—"The Naming of Names" (*Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1949), "The Martian" (*Super Science Stories* November 1949, as "Impossible") and "Usher II" (*Thrilling Wonder Stories* April 1950, as "Carnival of Madness") would see print before book publication. A survey of all seven titles provides some clues to Bradbury's initial plan for the heart of the book.

Although unfinished at this point, "The Fathers" eventually became "The Fire Balloons," one of four stories leading off this section of the A-Chronology which involve contact with aboriginal Martian "survivors." In "The Fathers," the Jesuit Father Peregrine and a companion search for God among the Martian hills, and find a benign

lifesaving force which defies analysis and torments the searchers with hopes that God might once again walk with man. "The Naming of Names" presents a community of settlers which has named and claimed a new frontier, but soon finds itself marooned on Mars by atomic war on Earth. The planet itself becomes proactive, subconsciously implanting a racial memory of the ancient Martian language and a desire to assume the identities of the native names and homesteads. Mars slowly transforms the settlers into Martians, and a rescue ship arriving five years later finds only dark and golden-eyed Martians living far from the colonial settlement. The new crew surveys and names the major landmarks; in this way, "The Naming of Names" begins all over again.

In sharp contrast to the primeval Martian powers of these two stories, "The Martian" portrays a survivor who is tempted by loneliness to enter a human home, using his powers of illusion to appear as the lost son of an old couple living on the edge of a colonial settlement. A fatal journey into the settlement reveals that any strong human memory will trigger a shape-change; the helpless Martian dies in an agony of metamorphosis, overloaded with the identities of long-lost loved ones from the desperate dreams of the humans around him.

"The Love Affair" is the only story other than "Ylla" listed in the original chronology that is written from the Martian point of view. Like "Ylla," it is a story of a secret sharer, in this case a Martian boy, perhaps the sole survivor of his race, who braves the threat of the Death Disease to meet the isolated Earth woman that he has loved from afar. Although the reader knows that she is a prostitute on vacation from the settlements, this factor only adds more possibilities to the moment of meeting—a meeting which Bradbury leaves to the reader's imagination. The final two stories from the middle section focus entirely on Earthmen who come to Mars to escape repression. "Way in the Middle of the Air" is Bradbury's pre-1950s vision of freedom for Black Americans, who rise up not in rebellion but rather in a successful attempt to leave the old order behind in a new Exodus to Mars. In "Usher II," a future where imaginative literature is banned drives a rich eccentric to Mars to recreate Poe's House of Usher. When the authorities follow to tear down his creation and burn his books, he is ready for them, with a vengeance worthy of Poe himself.

Poe may also be "The October Man" of the A-Chronology. This title represents the only mystery in the first list of chapters; it appears nowhere else in Bradbury's manuscripts or published stories, but there are clues. In "Usher II," Bradbury's obsessed millionaire recreates on Mars the perpetual autumn environment of Poe's House of Usher, an "ancient autumn world" which is "always October." Eventually,

Bradbury came to see his own Poe-esque horror and suspense stories as fantasies set in "The October Country," and collected his best early thrillers under that now-famous title in 1955. But the most compelling clue surfaces in the next chronology, where a second Poe story does appear in the middle of the outline in place of "The October Man."

At some later date, Bradbury returned to the mid-portion of the A-Chronology and wrote in two more titles—"Grandfathers" and "Night Meeting." Neither appears in the next Chronology, although they surface again in the third. Their appearance as holograph additions to A may underscore the tentative nature of the original mid-book titles, but it is more likely an indication that Bradbury was working with both the first (A) and second (B) chronologies as he made the substantial revisions to this section which are evident in the third (C) chronology.

At least initially, it appears that Bradbury was more interested in examining the "displaced" than the "displacers" in the central section of the book. The first three stories in the middle section of A are imaginative explorations of the consequences of the social Darwinism and egocentric attitudes that the first Earthmen bring to Mars to replace the fragile Martian culture. The fourth is a love story told, like "Ylla," from the Martian point of view. "The October Man" is problematic, due to the tenuous nature of its identity. Only the final two stories turn to the pressures that drive men outward from Earth's civilization, and the frontier imperatives that lead to exploration and settlement. The progressive chronology of discovery, exploration and settlement promised by "Rocket Summer" doesn't carry through the center of the A-Chronology. For this section at least, more than revision would be required in the months ahead.

THE B-CHRONOLOGY

The A-Chronology provides an excellent baseline by which to measure the succeeding stages of large-scale restructuring. The next stage is also recorded in an extant outline, probably prepared not long after Bradbury returned home to California in late June 1949. This "B-Chronology," as we may call it, includes twenty-one entries. Two titles are dropped from the A-Chronology; six new ones are added. Significantly, the B-Chronology entries have date prefixes similar to those that Bradbury would settle on in lieu of chapter numbers for the first edition text, differing only in the span of years he would identify as inclusive to the final structure of the book. In B, these dates run chronologically (with two typographical errors) from "July 5th, 1985" to "Fall 1999."

In this phase, Bradbury retained in order the six titles which open his original concept of the chronicles. He even highlighted the chronology by annotating the stories of exploration following "Ylla" as the second, third, and fourth expeditions. In the case of "Mars Is Heaven," the subtitle "Third Expedition" would eventually become the new title. Bradbury gives this story the date April 3rd, 1986, while "The Death of the Martians" takes place the next day, indicating that in B he already envisioned a strong link between Earth's three ill-fated expeditions and the cultural extinction of his Martians by human bacteria.

Bridges between major sections of the book begin to appear in B. A bridge tentatively titled "Threat of War on Earth" provides a new transition into the final apocalyptic chronicles. Not surprisingly, this section remains largely unchanged, with one major exception. "The Silent Towns," which had recently appeared in *Charm* (March 1949), was inserted between "There Will Come Soft Rains" and "The Long Years." The addition proved very effective. Like "The Long Years," "The Silent Towns" is a story about the few lonely colonists left behind when the settlers return to friends and families on war-torn Earth. But the sense of loss and brooding isolation in "The Long Years" is effectively balanced by the grotesque characterizations and darkly humorous accommodation to an empty world that is central to "The Silent Towns." In this story, an itinerant miner named Walter Gripp returns from the hills to find that all the settlements have been abandoned in the rush home. He amuses himself by playing both vendor and consumer in a ghost town where everything is free, but even the eccentric Gripp soon discovers a craving for human company. His ultimate wish is fulfilled when the sultry voice at the other end of a phone call leads him to the only other human on the planet. His odyssey ends in the presence of Genevieve Selsor, a plump chocolate-chewing nightmare; Gripp flees in a panic, never realizing that she is no more grotesque and mannerless than he is.

B clearly shows that the opening and closing sections remained essentially unchanged; but Bradbury was still far from satisfied with the mid-portion of the book. A new bridge, tentatively titled "The Settling In," leads into the core of the book, but the rest of this section varies significantly from A. "The Love Affair" and "The October Man" drop out (as do the holograph entries for "Grandfathers" and "Night Meeting"). "The Naming of Names," "The Fathers" (retitled "The Priests"), "Way in the Middle of the Air," "The Martian," and "Usher II" remain, but appear in this new order. Three new titles appear in the

center of this grouping: "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?"; "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars"; and "The Passing Years."

These changes suggest that Bradbury was still looking for an arrangement of material which would give focus and continuity to the entire work while carrying it beyond the scope of a story collection. Two of the new titles play off of material developed in the original chronology. "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?" may be a companion piece to "Way in the Middle of the Air." The earlier story ends as American Blacks head off to the rocket ports for Mars, leaving the traditional White society to sort it all out. "Sketch" appears to be either a bridge, or Bradbury's initial idea for a follow-up piece; if the former, it becomes "The Wheel" bridge of the C-Chronology; if the latter, it evolves into "The Other Foot," a story of prosperous Black settlers on Mars who, after a nuclear war on Earth, are confronted with the ironic situation of having to take in a White refugee from war-torn Earth. The story concludes with backlash hatred melting into compassion when the shoe is on "the other foot."

The book-burning behind the plot of "Usher II" shows that Bradbury was already shaping the material which would bear fruit in *Fahrenheit 451* several years later. Both Poe and book-burning resurface in the next new story of the B-Chronology. "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars" is most likely a planned revision of "The October Man" of the A-Chronology; the new title provides convincing evidence that it would become "The Mad Wizards of Mars," a story which eventually appeared in the 15 September 1949 issue of *Maclean's* of Canada. It is closer to whimsical fantasy than any other story considered for *The Martian Chronicles*. Here Bradbury envisions a writer's graveyard—the mass burning of Earth's literary treasures sends the ghosts of all the great writers to exile on Mars. On the eve of a first expedition to Mars, Poe's ghost leads the other literary masters in an attempt to telepathically terrorize the crew into turning back. They fail, and when the Captain burns the last copies of the masterworks from his ship's library, the ghosts themselves dissolve away.

"The Passing Years" may be the first interior bridge for this section of the book. The title and its date—twelve years after the preceding entry—suggests that the stories of early settlement were to be set off from those chronicling the evolving colonial identity on Mars. But such changes are still tentative in B—in spite of the date entries, there is very little bridging or true chronological depth to the material.

The B-Chronology shows a shift of emphasis in its middle titles; with the deletion of "The Love Affair," only three remaining stories in this section deal with the old Martians. Although we cannot be sure of

their content at this early outline stage, the Poe fantasy and the Negro sketch seem to add to the stories concerned with the transfer of Earth's culture to a new world. As work progressed, Bradbury would continue this trend in his stories as well as his bridging chapters.

THE C-CHRONOLOGY

The last surviving record of revision appears to be the final chronology that went forward to the publisher with the manuscript; if so, it probably dates from November or December 1949. The most striking changes involve the dating prefixes and the significant expansion of titles—now totaling 29. Bradbury moved the point of departure to the eve of the new century, and expanded the scope of *The Martian Chronicles* to cover a full quarter century of colonization. (Oddly enough, the perspective of time shows that Bradbury's dates approximate today's tentative timetable for NASA's projected manned Mars missions.)

Even in outline, the C-Chronology appears far more complete than the earlier chronologies. In preparing C, Bradbury deleted three stories from B, but retained the remaining eighteen titles—five bridges and thirteen stories—with some title revisions. Most significantly, he added eleven new titles—five stories and six bridges—and completely reshaped the sequence of stories in the middle portion of the work.

The C-Chronology adds only one story to the opening section, and none to the closing section of the outline; this evidence confirms that Bradbury's initial vision of man's exploitation of a dying culture, and the eventual "second chance" to redeem man's mistakes on Mars, were firmly rooted in the earlier chronologies. The major addition in C is "The Summer Night," which appeared in the Winter 1949 issue of *The Arkham Sampler* (as "The Spring Night"), just as Bradbury was finishing his revisions for *The Martian Chronicles*. "The Spring Night" is, in effect, a 900-word bridge between "Ylla" and "The Earth Men"; the internal evidence of the magazine text indicates that it was probably written, along with "Ylla," rather late in the series of Martian stories (probably early 1949). "The Summer Night" develops the central mystery of Ylla—her ability to pick up the thoughts of Earthmen as they approach Mars. Martians gathered for a summer evening of music under the stars are astonished when the singer and even the musicians become the media for fragments of alien music of unknown origin. The harsh, almost barbaric quality of the sound terrifies the assembly and drives the Martians home in panic, where fragments of other strange rhymes surface in children's play and even in

dreams. The musical echoes are all traditional Anglo-American songs and rhymes similar to those which Ylla reads from the mind of Nathaniel York. The story forms a natural bridge between "Ylla," where only one very sensitive and very lonely Martian receives the thoughts of Earth's first astronaut, and "The Earth Men," where a larger crew approaches Mars with stronger (and much more confusing) composite memories.

Bradbury also added "The Taxpayer," a true bridge between the second expedition of "The Earth Men" and "The Third Expedition" (a title which evolves in C from "Mars Is Heaven!"), and retained "The Disease" as a bridge between the stories of the Third and Fourth Expeditions. In this way, he provided an introductory bridge or bridging story for each of the four tales of exploration which open the chronicles.

In the final section of the C-Chronology, Bradbury developed the opening "Threat of War on Earth" into a bridge titled "The Luggage Store." The final five stories remain uninterrupted by bridges, but in C "There Will Come Soft Rains" moves down between "The Long Years" and "The Million-Year Picnic." These three closing stories are now dated 2026, more than twenty years after the war on Earth brought all but a few marooned settlers and explorers home. The revision in chronology accommodates the 20-year timespan required for Doc Hathaway's story in "The Long Years," but the revised timeline creates a new logic problem for "The Million-Year Picnic" by delaying the Thomas family's pre-holocaust departure for Mars by twenty-one years. Bradbury's solution was to reposition "There Will Come Soft Rains" late in the chronology, revealing that the destruction of Earth did not happen all at once, but rather over a period of years leading up to a final atomic cataclysm. The penultimate position of "Soft Rains" explains how families like the Thomases and their neighbors could have survived the earlier war years and managed to leave for Mars just ahead of Earth's final descent into chaos.

The middle of the C-Chronology reveals a total reworking of Bradbury's vision of the settlement of Mars. He dropped three stories entirely—"The Naming of Names," "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?", and "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars." These deletions indicate that Bradbury was thinking more of the structure of the book as a whole than of individual stories—each deleted story has a basic plot element that puts it at variance with the general progression of the *Chronicles*. The Poe piece presents a new 'first expedition' story that in no way fits into the fabric of the Martian conquest described and bridged so carefully through the first four stories of the text. Both "The

Naming of Names” and “Sketch” are philosophically insightful, but they describe destinies for the Earth settlements on Mars that are at variance with the nearly complete vision of failure and redemption as narrated in the final five *Chronicle* stories. Under different titles, all three of these stories would eventually find their way into some of Bradbury’s best story collections of later years; but as the *Chronicles* moved closer and closer to completion, it became apparent that these stories would only diffuse the developing unity of the book.

The bridge into the mid-section stories (retitled “The Settlers”) continues to serve this major transitional purpose in C. “The Passing Years” bridge almost certainly becomes “The Naming of Names”—it is the only bridge in C that spans years instead of a single month or day. In this bridge Bradbury chronicles the way that, over time, the Earthmen rename and master the Martian terrain. This context, coupled with the bridge’s unique date prefix and the fact that Bradbury had removed (and would eventually retitle) the B-Chronology story of that name, argues well for the assumption that Bradbury simply moved the title from story to bridge in the C-Chronology. But other revisions in the mid-section of C are far more significant. These two bridges and the surviving four stories from B—“The Priests,” “Way [In the] Middle of the Air,” “The Martian,” and “Usher II”—are reordered and merged into a larger body of three new stories and six new bridges. The seven stories now in the book’s mid-section work with the eight bridges to tell an integrated story of initial settlement, and the waves of settlers that follow. The new stories present, in turn, an early frontier settlement along the lines of the American West (“They All Had Grandfathers”); a Johnny Appleseed figure, determined to plant a forest of trees and shrubs which bring sweet memories of Earth as well as the essential oxygen exchange which the colonists need to survive (“The Green Morning”); and a night meeting between two lone travelers, one a pioneer from Earth, the other a Martian, both trapped for a moment out of time, and both unsure whether the other represents the past or the future of Mars (“The Night Meeting”). These new settlers are followed by the priests (“The Fathers”), the Negro pioneers from the American South (“Way in the Middle of the Air”), the eccentric millionaire (Usher II), and the old people (“The Martian”) who come in successive waves in the four stories which Bradbury had carried over from both the A- and B-Chronologies. The six new mid-book bridges reinforce the wave-like dynamic of settlement, and the occupational diversity of the settlers. There would be other last minute changes before publication, but in essence the outlined text of the C-Chronology represents the final contents of *The Martian Chronicles*.

The surviving A-, B-, and C-Chronologies point to a fairly rigorous process of revision and expansion by which Bradbury turned these stories into what amounts to a first novel. But by themselves, the three chronologies cannot provide convincing evidence that the final work is anything more than a collection of imaginative stories linked by common subjects and themes. The true nature of the book only becomes apparent through an analysis of Bradbury's actual revisions, and the new materials which he produced specifically for *The Martian Chronicles*.

STORY REVISIONS

Early magazine versions exist for twelve of the eighteen C-Chronology stories.⁶ Collations of these texts against those in the first hardcover edition reveal heavy revision which, for some stories, amounts to major rewriting. Much of the revising is structural, providing internal bridges and links between stories. But at least half of the revised passages reveal significant stylistic development as well.

Structural changes often provide clues to the order in which some stories were written. The magazine texts for "Ylla" and "The Summer Night" already show a full development of the Martian culture which the earlier stories of first contact lack.⁷ Bradbury added similar descriptions as he revised the earlier tales to form subsequent Earth landings in the *Chronicles*. "The Earth Men," as transformed into a tale of the Second Expedition, provides good examples. In revision, "The Earth Men" includes descriptions of the colorful masks which symbolize the increasingly illusive nature of Bradbury's fragile Martians:

Magazine text:

The little town was full of people going in and out doors and saying hello to one another. Through windows you could see people eating food and washing dishes. (72)

First edition text:

The little town was full of people drifting in and out of doors saying hello to one another, wearing golden masks and blue masks and crimson masks for pleasant variety, masks with silver tips and bronze eyebrows, masks that smiled or masks that frowned, according to the owner's disposition. (36)

The Earth Men can find no adult interested in their presence, and try to tell their tale to a little Martian girl. In revision, Bradbury has her quickly clap “an expressionless golden mask over her face,” and listen to the story “through the slits of her emotionless mask.” Themselves masters of illusion, the natives believe that the astronauts are merely deranged Martians who can produce the image of strange weapons, spacesuits, and a ship from the stars. When the Earth Men are locked away in an asylum, they are treated by a Martian psychologist who, in the revised text, wears a mask with three faces.

Until revision, the four stories of initial contact with Mars were not interconnected—each originally stood as a distinct vision of first contact. In revision for the *Chronicles*, Bradbury left “Ylla” largely untouched as a Martian’s view of the First Expedition, and added passages to the other stories which placed them in a sequence as the Second, Third, and Fourth Expeditions. But the interweave works even deeper into the book. Bradbury also added two of his protagonists from the concluding stories of the *Chronicles* to Captain John Wilder’s crew of the successful Fourth Expedition—Sam Parkhill, the hotdog stand owner of “The Off Season,” and Doc Hathaway of “The Long Years.” In revising “The Long Years,” he provides further linkage by having Doc Hathaway rescued by Captain Wilder himself, who has been on deep space exploration missions during the twenty years of war on Earth. Here, as well as in “The Off Season,” Bradbury builds on Wilder’s conservationist image by revealing how he was sent out to the space frontier to prevent his interference with the colonial exploitation of Mars.

Other changes accommodate the advance of the chronology into the twenty-first century by altering the birthdates of crew members and the years of the expedition landings. Bradbury is also careful to develop a sense for the physical strain of low oxygen on Mars, a consideration lacking from the earlier versions of the contact stories. And in a very important long addition to “And the Moon Be Still as Bright,” Doc Hathaway tells Captain Wilder how his scouting mission across the planet uncovers the pathetic end of the Martian culture—the incredibly ancient race has been suddenly and silently exterminated by the chicken pox carried by the crews of the three earlier expeditions.

These changes are significant in tracing the evolution of independent stories into book chapters, but the stylistic changes are an even stronger indicator of the extent of Bradbury’s rewriting. Collation reveals that most stories were heavily revised—some as much as seventy percent. The majority of this revision involves stylistic

development of dialog and the descriptions, images, and suspense elements of the individual stories.

"There Will Come Soft Rains" is perhaps the most heavily revised story in the *Chronicles*. Very little is altered in terms of events—it remains the pathetic and tragic story of the death of an automated house, long after the family it serves has been destroyed in the first flash of an atomic blast. But the descriptions become richer and more powerful in revision, as we can see in the descriptions of the little robot mice that scurry about cleaning the house on its final day:

Magazine text:

Out of warrens in the wall, tiny mechanical mice darted. The rooms were acrawl with the small cleaning animals, all rubber and metal. They sucked up the hidden dust, and popped back in their burrows. (34)

First edition text:

Out of the warrens in the wall, tiny robot mice darted. The rooms were acrawl with the small cleaning animals, all rubber and metal. They thudded against chairs whirling their mustached runners, kneading the rug nap, sucking gently at hidden dust. Then, like mysterious invaders, they popped into their burrows. Their pink, electric eyes faded. The house was clean. (206)

Later in the day, The return of the family dog triggers another descriptive revision:

Magazine text:

Behind it whirled the angry robot mice, angry at having to pick up mud and maple leaves which, carried to the burrows, were dropped down cellar tubes into an incinerator which sat like an evil Baal in a dark corner. (34)

First edition text:

Behind it whirled angry mice, angry at having to pick up mud, angry at inconvenience.

For not a leaf fragment blew under the door but what the wall panels flipped open and the copper scrap rats flashed swiftly out. The offending dust, hair, or paper, seized in miniature steel jaws, was raced back to the burrows. There, down tubes which fed into the cellar, it was dropped into the sighing vent of an incinerator which sat like evil Baal in a dark corner. (207)

The full development of the mice is only one of many animal images in "There Will Come Soft Rains" that come alive through Bradbury's revising hand. He adds chemical snakes of fire retardant foam, and a fire that backs off, "as even an elephant must at the sight of a dead snake." But the most fascinating new passages center on the introduction of an electronic nursery to the story, described in striking detail before the house begins to burn:

Four-thirty.

The nursery walls glowed.

Animals took shape: yellow giraffes, blue lions, pink antelopes, lilac panthers cavorting in crystal substance. The walls were glass. They looked out upon color and fantasy. Hidden films clocked through well-oiled sprockets, and the walls lived. The nursery floor was woven to resemble a crisp, cereal meadow. Over this ran aluminum roaches and iron crickets, and in the hot still air butterflies of delicate red tissue wavered among the sharp aroma of animal spoors! There was the sound like a great matted yellow hive of bees within a dark bellows, the lazy bumble of a purring lion. And there was the patter of okapi feet and the murmur of a fresh jungle rain, like other hoofs, falling upon the summer-s parched grass. Now the walls dissolved into distances of parched weed, mile on mile, and warm endless sky. The animals drew away into thorn brakes and water holes.

It was the children's hour. (208)

Later, as the fire consumes the house, the nursery responds to this final deadly stimulus:

In the nursery the jungle burned. Blue lions roared, purple giraffes bounded off. The panthers ran in circles, changing color, and ten million animals, running before the fire, vanished off toward a distant steaming river....(210)

In these nursery descriptions, Bradbury was developing the controlling image of one of his most often anthologized horror tales, "The Veldt" (originally titled "The World the Children Made," 1950). But here, they add yet another image of animal vitality to Bradbury's descriptions of the doomed house. Similar deep revisions can be found throughout "There Will Come Soft Rains." A side-by-side comparison of the final third of the story reveals just how completely Bradbury rewrote this penultimate story for *The Martian Chronicles*.

Not all of his revisions were expansive. In story after story, collation uncovers many passages of dialog which are tightened up to great effect in revision for the book. The dialog passages of "The Third Expedition" ("Mars Is Heaven!") are typical. Captain John Black and his crew find, to their amazement, that they've landed in an exact replica of an early twentieth century midwestern American town, complete with old phonograph recordings, period artwork, and villagers. In one passage, Black and two of his officers question an old lady about the town. A parallel comparison of the pre- and post-revision texts shows how Bradbury deleted forty percent of the passage by eliminating the bewildered echoing lines of the astronauts and the peevish pouting of the old lady—all changes for the better. The serene and motherly old lady of the revised passage surprises the reader—irritability and peevishness were hallmarks of Martian behavior in "Ylla" and "The Earth Men." The tightened dialog of "The Third Expedition" eliminates this telltale characteristic and allows the Martian woman to set her illusion with much more subtlety—a stratagem which is only appreciated in the harrowing conclusion of the tale.

It is this illusion that carries the story, and Bradbury refines the element of suspense by adding material to Black's gradual realization of the terrifying truth. The town seems to be populated by the dead relatives of his crew members; all the men leave their weapons and rush to meet long lost loved ones. Reunited with his own brother and parents, Black is convinced that Mars is a Heaven of sorts, a place where the dead blissfully re-enact their Earthly routines. But later, as he tries to fall asleep in his childhood home, logical thought returns:

And this town, so old, from the year 1926, long before *any* of my men were born. From a year when I was six years old and there *were* records of Harry Lauder, and Maxfield Parrish paintings *still* hanging, and bead curtains, and "Beautiful Ohio," and turn-of-the-century architecture. What if the Martians took the memories of a town *exclusively* from *my* mind? They say childhood

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memories are the clearest. And after they built the town from *my* mind, they populated it with the most-loved people from all the minds of the people on the rocket!

And suppose those two people in the next room, asleep, are not my mother and father at all. But two Martians, incredibly brilliant, with the ability to keep me under this dreaming hypnosis all the time? (64-65)

These memories are Bradbury's, who, like John Black, was born in 1920. Added largely in revision, this passage highlights the deadly subtlety of the Martian illusion. For John Black, this numbing realization precedes his own death by mere seconds.

In just four months, between his return from New York in late June 1949, and the birth of his daughter Susan in early November, Bradbury transformed these stories into chapters of a greater work. But the final sense of completion only came with the writing of new material—the transitional bridges.

THE BRIDGES

Most of the Martian stories were written before Bradbury's June 1949 trip to New York provided the inspiration to fuse these materials into a novel. In fact, all but five of the stories in the C-Chronology preceded the book into print in some form. But the bridges are a different story. Only "Rocket Summer" appears in the A-Chronology, with the note that it is "unfinished." Presumably all eleven bridges—representing a tenth of the total text but more than a third of the C-Chronology titles—were written specifically for the book.

"Rocket Summer," although very brief, sets the mood for the possibilities of rocket travel and the opening of a new frontier. It's still winter on Earth, but the rockets are already changing the world: "The rocket stood in the cold winter morning, making summer with every breath of its mighty exhausts. The rocket made climates, and summer lay for a brief moment upon the land..."(13). Many of the bridges end in ellipsis, leading the way to "Ylla" and beyond.

In "The Taxpayer," Bradbury first reveals the re-awakened need for frontier freedoms that the rocket brings to many. The anonymous taxpayer expresses this need as dissatisfaction with established civilization in the best tradition of American frontier literature: "To get away from wars and censorship and statism and conscription and government control of this and that, of art and science! You could have Earth! He was offering his good right hand, his heart, his head, for the

opportunity to go to Mars!" (47). There are also references to atomic war looming on the horizon, a bridge to later stories which gives a sense of urgency to the settlement of Mars.

After the story of the Fourth Expedition, Mars—for a time—will be Earth's. With "The Settlers," Bradbury begins to document the waves of settlement, continuing through all the bridges in the middle section of the book. In "The Shore," he extends the wave metaphor to echo the American experience: "Mars was a distant shore, and the men spread upon it in waves. Each wave was different, and each wave stronger" (111). Each successive bridge defines one or more waves:

The first wave carried with it men accustomed to spaces and coldness and being alone, the coyote and cattlemen,... ("The Shore," 111)

And what more natural than that, at last, the old people come to Mars, following in the trail left by the loud frontiersmen, the aromatic sophisticates, and the professional travelers and romantic lecturers in search of new grist. ("The Old Ones," 149)

But Bradbury's waves of settlers are all American waves. Again, the bridges explain:

The second men should have traveled from other countries with other accents and other ideas. But the rockets were American and the men were American and it stayed that way, while Europe and Asia and South America and Australia and the islands watched the Roman candles leave them behind. The rest of the world was buried in war or the thoughts of war. ("The Shore," 111)

And the settlers not only were American, but they built American, trying "to beat the strange world into a shape that was familiar to the eye, to bludgeon away all the strangeness" ("The Locusts," 101). They brought in Oregon pine and California redwood to work this transformation, and in time, they succeeded: "It was as if, in many ways, a great Earthquake had shaken loose the roots and cellars of an Iowa town, and then, in an instant, a whirlwind twister of Oz-like proportions had carried the entire town off to Mars to set it down without a bump" ("Interim," 113). Finally, the old Martian names and places were buried beneath the new frontier history: "Here was the place where Martians killed the first Earth Men, and it was Red Town

and had to do with blood. And here where the second expedition was destroyed, and it was named Second Try, and each of the other places where the rocket men had set down their fiery cauldrons to burn the land, the names were left like cinders,..." ("The Naming of Names," 130).

The bridges chronicle the way that the pioneering imperative populates the new land and imposes a civilized order over the natural order of the Red Planet. The final bridges reach to events back on Earth, and show how the roots of the new life are not yet deep enough to keep the settlers from returning home when the rumors of war become reality.

Bradbury's bridges complete the transformation of the Martian stories into chapters of an integrated greater work. The bridges chronicle the cosmic scope of the group endeavor to fulfill dreams in a new world; the stories chronicle individuals striving to make the dreams come true. Together, the unbroken chronology of bridge and story reveals in very human terms the wonder and deadly perils of a new frontier, full of recurring reminders that there can be no fulfillment on the frontier without sacrifice and loss.⁸

THE PUBLISHING LEGACY

As one might expect, the dynamic shaping of *The Martian Chronicles* did not end with the C-Chronology. Doubleday's May 1950 first edition contains twenty-five of the twenty-nine titles in C. The final revisions deleted the stories "They All Had Grandfathers" and "The Fathers." "The Disease," planned as a bridge explaining the extinction of the Martians, also disappears, as does "The Wheel." A late addition, a bridge titled "The Watchers," brings the final chapter count to twenty-six, including fifteen stories and eleven bridges.

"The Disease" provided situational irony, but in depicting the death of Ylla's husband by means of the bacteriological legacy of the Earthmen he had slain, Bradbury had sensationalized an otherwise subtle and effective story. The deletion of this bridge improves the impact of "Ylla" and quickens the tempo of the opening stories of first contact. In terms of plot, the deletion was compensated by revisions to the Fourth Expedition's story in the opening pages of "And the Moon Be Still as Bright." Bradbury's addition of Hathaway and his medical report on the death of the Martians eliminates the need for a bridge between the Third and Fourth Expedition stories, and effectively develops the irony of mankind's unintentional genocide.

"The Wheel" initially provided a whimsical but ineffective epilogue to "Way in the Middle of the Air." Here again, deletion of a bridge increases the tempo of the chronicles, this time without the need to add material elsewhere. The logic for a new bridge in the final section of the *Chronicles* is also clear. "The Watchers," with its repeated radio calls from Earth to COME HOME, provides the final motivation for the return exodus of the settlers.

It isn't clear whether deletion of the two stories was an authorial decision, or was prompted by editorial concern over content. The spiritual implications of "The Fathers" might have been considered controversial, but there is little (other than prostitution) to consider controversial in "They All Had Grandfathers." ("The Fathers," much the finer of the two pieces, would appear in the companion story volume, *The Illustrated Man*, a year later.) Whatever the reason, it is likely that the stories were removed at the last minute—surviving references to Father Peregrine of "The Fathers" remain in two bridges, "The Shore" and "The Luggage Store."

The subsequent publishing history of the work is no less complicated, and reveals that Bradbury and his agent, Don Congdon, were able to retain a great deal of marketing flexibility as the book quickly won public acclaim. Even after book publication, Bradbury was able to retitle and even repackaging some of the stories for reprint in American and English periodicals. In November 1950, *Esquire* reprinted "The Summer Night," combined with "The Earth Men," as "The Great Hallucination." In February 1951, the English version of *Argosy* reprinted the same conflation as "Danger Wears Three Faces." "Ylla" also appeared in the English *Argosy* under its original magazine title, "I'll Not Look for Wine." Nearly every other story has a magazine reprint history, but the longest trail belongs to "The Third Expedition." *Argosy* of England reprinted it just before book publication as "Circumstantial Evidence." Over the next few years, it appeared in *Esquire* under the original title, "Mars Is Heaven!", in *Coronet* (condensed) as "They Landed on Mars," in England's *Authentic Science Fiction* as "Welcome Brothers," and in England's *Suspense* as "While Earthmen Sleep." Such a recounting doesn't include the many anthology and textbook appearances and even comic book adaptations of the *Chronicle* tales.

Argosy of England eventually published eight of the stories, and this unofficial serial set up a ready-made reading public for English book publication in 1951. The English first edition deleted "Usher II," restored "The Fathers" as "The Fire Balloons," and in a move which probably reflected the altered contents, changed the title of the entire

book to *The Silver Locusts*. (an image found in “The Locusts” bridge of all versions). Two years later, the Science Fiction Book Club of England published yet a third variant text. This edition added a new story, “The Wilderness,” to *The Silver Locusts* text, and restored the original *Martian Chronicles* title to the book. Beginning in 1963, some American editions have established a “complete” text, a fourth variant that includes all of the seventeen stories and eleven bridges that ever appeared in any edition of the book. Yet a fifth variant text was recently introduced by Doubleday’s Fortieth Anniversary Edition, which restores “The Fire Balloons” to the original text, but does not include “The Wilderness.” Just to add to the confusion, there are editions of the original *Martian Chronicles* text titled *The Silver Locusts*, and *Silver Locusts* texts titled *The Martian Chronicles* (see Appendix B). Every variant remains in print, in original or paper editions.

But even through the complex weave of the reprint history, it is apparent that *The Martian Chronicles* has never (in any variation) lost its original richness of design or unity of composition. It remains an imaginative exploration of the romance and reality found in any frontier experience, and reminds us that the invasion of a new frontier has a cost for both the displaced and the displacers. But is it a novel, or a collection of stories linked by ideas and adventures? The unique history of the text suggests an answer to this critical question.

THE CRITICAL LEGACY

Winesburg, Ohio may, in a general sense, be the spark for the creative fire that became *The Martian Chronicles*. Both writers are natural storytellers, capable of capturing moments of life with great emotional impact, and linking these moments with unifying elements of place and character. But Bradbury’s debt to Anderson stops here. Anderson, already a novelist, wrote his *Winesburg* tales in a single creative burst during the autumn of 1915. He wrote them quickly, almost exactly in the order of the finished book, and made very few revisions. In contrast, Bradbury initially wrote his stories as truly independent pieces, over a long period of time, without a sequence in mind or the long lost “Earthport” outline at hand. Ultimately, he did not follow Anderson’s design for *Winesburg*; when he did think to unite these pieces, a long and intense process of revision and new writing followed. In terms of process, the textual history of *The Martian Chronicles* more closely parallels that of Faulkner’s *Go Down, Moses* than it does *Winesburg, Ohio*. For that project, Faulkner fused ten stories and sketches into a greater whole that centered upon questions of

race and man's evolving relationship to the wilderness. The bridging passages added to "The Fire and the Hearth" and "The Bear," along with the new story "Was," complete the chronicles of the McCaslin family established in the other stories. Finally, the original stories and sketches, hastily offered for piece money to periodicals, were carefully revised and expanded for the final work. Although the new chapters remain distinct pieces of fiction, they are integral parts of a generations-long chronicle which Faulkner eventually came to regard as a novel; in all later printings, he deleted "and Other Stories" from the volume title.⁹

The Martian Chronicles shares this creative pattern. The same kind of transformation from a story collection to a unified fable occurs through the intensive rewriting and reshaping of the independent stories. The result is that the *Chronicles* transcend the classification of "science fiction" that is attributed to its constituent parts. Critics sensed this difference from the start, beginning with Christopher Isherwood, whose early review propelled Bradbury from genre notoriety into the mainstream of American letters. For Isherwood and others, the powerful style and imagination created a Martian setting that, in its totality, became a most compelling American parable.¹⁰

Are these unifying factors enough to give the *Chronicles* recognition as Bradbury's first novel? Traditionally, critics would demur, and for the same reasons given in classifying *Winesburg, Ohio*. Even *Go Down, Moses* (along with *The Unvanquished*) and *The Red Pony* (not to mention *Tortilla Flat* and *The Pastures of Heaven*) are considered cycles of stories, something between a story collection and a novel. In his introduction to the widely-taught Penguin edition of *Winesburg, Ohio*, Malcolm Cowley suggested that such a cycle has "several unifying elements, including a single background, a prevailing tone, and a central character. These elements can be found in all the cycles, but the best of them also have an underlying plot that is advanced or enriched by each of the stories." This definition works for the *Chronicles* as well—at least, as far as it goes. The background is the decline of an Old World, the prevailing tone is the suspense of exploring a New World, and the central character, Mankind. The central plot or fable is the chronicle of the frontier experience.

But in Bradbury's case, a very crucial question remains unanswered by the definition: are these in fact the same stories that existed prior to the evolution of the greater work? The answer rests within the textual record. Here the layers of revision, both in the outlines and the stories themselves, show far more internal transformation than most works of

this kind. Of the twenty-six first edition titles, fourteen (eleven bridges and three stories) were here first printed. The twelve previously published stories all show substantive revision.¹¹ In most cases the rewriting involves a third to one-half of the words and punctuation of the text; in some, it involves as much as three-quarters of the material. Of these twelve, only seven appear in the *Chronicles* with their original titles.

What we find then is a new work in which the sum of the original parts does not equal the revised whole. More than half of the composite text is new or rewritten; nineteen of the twenty-six chapter titles are new or rewritten; and all twenty-six chapter titles are given date prefixes which are, with few exceptions, unique to editions of the *Chronicles*. Clearly, a textual editor in search of the author's final intent for these stories could not look elsewhere—the copy-text for any authoritative edition of the *Chronicles* would have to be based on the first edition, or on pre-publication forms of the text that reflect the author's massive revisions. The previously published story texts do not reflect those revisions, and in most cases don't even reflect the author's intent to write the greater *Chronicles* saga.

The publishing record also demonstrates the coherence of the greater work. Although there are five variant texts to the *Chronicles*, none offers more than a five percent variation in content. This fact is even more remarkable when the entire canon of Martian tales is considered. Despite the existence of at least twenty-one other Martian tales, the many subsequent editions have added only one brief bridge-like story ("The Wilderness") which was not in Bradbury's plan for the first edition text. It's also clear that Bradbury felt very strongly that the revised chronicles represented his final intent, even when they stood alone as stories. As Appendix A shows, the various chronicles have been reprinted and collected nearly fifty times, perhaps more widely than any similar work. Anthology and textbook appearances triple this total.¹² Yet with few exceptions early on, only the revised form—the chronicle form, if you will—is ever reprinted.

The evolution of *The Martian Chronicles* makes a strong case for the argument that the textual history of a work can have a crucial impact on its genre classification. From a bibliographical point of view, *The Martian Chronicles*, like *Go Down, Moses*, is more a novel than such "bricolage" cousins as *Winesburg, Ohio* and *The Red Pony*, where pre-existing parts become a new whole without substantial internal transformation. Discourse of the latter kind works within the framework limitations of the existing materials; that is, the author

"assembles" rather than "creates" the larger work, building from extant stories which share unifying elements. From the bibliographer's perspective, one may easily see how more ambitious experiments like *The Martian Chronicles* transcend the limitations of pre-existing materials through the revising hand of the author.

In sewing together "some sort of tapestry" with his Martian stories, Bradbury essentially wrote an entirely new book. That book became *The Martian Chronicles*. And that book was his first novel. Once he transformed his stories into chronicles, rewriting them and bridging them together, they were changed forever. They might be pulled out from time to time and republished elsewhere as stories, but together they lock into a work that is more than the "half cousin to a novel" that Walter Bradbury ordered up one June day in New York, a long time ago.

APPENDIX A

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHRONICLES

The complete chronicles appear below in chapter order. Each includes a publishing history, listed chronologically. The histories include periodical reprints, Bradbury story collections, or single story books—that is, the texts over which Bradbury was likely to have exercised some degree of authorial control. Anthology and textbook appearances are not included here.

Title changes also appear in the publication history. Unless a separate title is specifically listed, all the printings of a given story have the title developed by Bradbury for *The Martian Chronicles*. Use or disuse of the date prefix is noted.

"January 1999: Rocket Summer." New bridge passage.

"February 1999: Ylla." Originally published *Maclean's* (Canada) 1 January 1950, as "I'll Not Look for Wine." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Original reprinted *Argosy* (England) July 1950; reprinted as revised *Avon Fantasy Reader #14*, 1950, as "Ylla." Collected as revised *The Vintage Bradbury* (1965), as "Ylla."

"August 1999: The Summer Night." Originally published *The Arkham Sampler* Winter 1949, as "The Spring Night." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950).

Reprinted *Esquire* November 1950, combined with "The Earth Men," as "The Great Hallucination"; reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1951, combined with "The Earthmen," as "Danger Wears Three Faces."

"August 1999: The Earth Men." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1948, as "The Earth Men." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Reprinted

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Esquire November 1950, combined with "The Spring Night," as "The Great Hallucination"; reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1951, combined with "The Spring Night," as "Danger Wears Three Faces"; reprinted *A Treasury of Great S.F. Stories #1* 1964. Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "The Earth Men."

"March 2000: The Taxpayer." New bridge passage.

"April 2000: The Third Expedition." Originally published *Planet Stories* Fall 1948, as "Mars Is Heaven!"; Reprinted *Argosy* (England) April 1950, as "Circumstantial Evidence." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Esquire* December. 1950, as "Mars Is Heaven!"; reprinted *Coronet* June 1950, as "They Landed on Mars" (condensed); *Authentic Science Fiction #29* (England) January 1952, as "Welcome Brothers"; *Suspense* (England) November 1958, as "While Earthmen Sleep." Collected as revised, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "Mars Is Heaven!"

"June 2001: —And the Moon be Still as Bright." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* June 1948, as "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950.

"August 2001: The Settlers." New bridge passage.

"December 2001: The Green Morning." New story. Reprinted *Read 1* December 1960, as "December 2001: The Green Mountains."

"February 2002: The Locusts." New bridge passage.

"August 2002: Night Meeting." New story. Reprinted *Identity* 1974; reprinted *Weird Worlds #1* 1978, as "Night Meeting." Collected, *The Vintage Bradbury*, as "Night Meeting."

"October 2002: The Shore." New bridge passage.

"The Fire Balloons." Originally published, *The Illustrated Man* (American editions only, [February.] 1951; deleted from all English editions). Reprinted *Imagination* Apr. 1951, as "In This Sign." Added to all English editions of *The Silver Locusts* ([Sep.] 1951) and *The Martian Chronicles* (1953), and some subsequent American editions of *The Martian Chronicles* (beginning 1963). Reprinted *And It Is Divine* December 1975 (abridged).

"February 2003: Interim." New bridge passage.

"April 2003: The Musicians." New bridge passage.

"The Wilderness." Originally published *Today* 6 April 1952. Rewritten and reprinted *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* November 1952. Collected, *The Golden Apples of the Sun*, ([March] 1953). Added to English editions of *The Martian Chronicles*, 1953. Reprinted *Everybody's Digest* September

1953, as "Honeymoon on Mars." Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), *Collected Stories 1* (1990).

"June 2003: Way in the Middle of the Air." New story. Reprinted *Other Worlds* July 1950, as "Way in the Middle of the Air"; reprinted *Duke* August 1957, as "The Day the Negroes Left Earth."

"2004-2005: The Naming of Names." New bridge passage.

"April 2005: Usher II." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* April 1950, as "Carnival of Madness." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Argosy* (England) Nov. 1950, as "The Second House of Usher"; reprinted *Esquire* Nov. 1951, as "The Immortality of Horror." Deleted from *The Silver Locusts* (1951) and English editions of *The Martian Chronicles* (1953). Added to English editions of *The Illustrated Man* (1952), as "Usher II."

"August 2005: The Old Ones." New bridge passage.

"September 2005: The Martian." Originally published *Super Science Stories* November 1949, as "Impossible." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles*, ([May] 1950).

"November 2005: The Luggage Store." New bridge passage.

"November 2005: The Off Season." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* December 1948, as "The Off Season." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980).

"November 2005: The Watchers." New Bridge passage.

"December 2005: The Silent Towns." Originally published *Charm* March 1949, as "The Silent Towns." Rewritten for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Collected, *The Stories Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "The Silent Towns."

"April 2026: The Long Years." Originally published *Maclean's* (Canada) 15 September 1948, as "The Long Years." Reprinted *Argosy* (England) March 1949; reprinted *Planet Stories* and *Planet Stories* (Canada) Spring 1949. Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *American Science Fiction #19* (Australia) [1953], as "Dwellers in Silence."

"August 2026: There Will Come Soft Rains." Originally published *Collier's* 6 May 1950, as "There Will Come Soft Rains." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Argosy* (England) August 1950, *The New York Post* 13 March 1955, *Scholastic Scope* 5 April 1971, without title prefix. Collected, *The Vintage Bradbury* (1965), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), and *There Will Come Soft Rains* (1989), without title prefix.

"October 2026: The Million Year Picnic." Originally published *Planet Stories* Summer 1946, as "The Million-Year Picnic." Reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1950, as "The Long Weekend." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Reprinted *Tops in Science Fiction* Spring 1953, *Tops in Science Fiction #1* (England) 1954, without title prefix. Collected, *S Is for Space* (1966), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), and *Classic Stories 2* (1990), as "The Million-Year Picnic."

APPENDIX B

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF *THE MARTIAN CHRONICLES*

All variants include the eleven bridges that Bradbury wrote for the first edition text. Thus Variants 1 and 2 have 26 total titles, Variants 3 and 5 have 27, and Variant 4 has 28. Editions through 1990 are listed by content variation.

VARIANT 1: ORIGINAL TEXT, WITH 15 STORIES:

The Martian Chronicles. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, [May] 1950. First edition.

———. NY: Bantam Books, [1951]. First American paperback edition. Adds prefatory quotations by Bradbury.

———. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, [1952]. Reprinting of first American edition for the Science Fiction Book Club.

———. Garden City, NY and Toronto: Doubleday, 1958. New edition with a two-page prefatory note by Clifton Fadiman.

The Silver Locusts. London: Transworld Publishers, 1963. The original 1950 American *Martian Chronicles* text, with the 1958 prefatory note by Clifton Fadiman.

The Martian Chronicles. Garden City, NY: [March] 1978. Reprinted for the Science Fiction Book Club.

VARIANT 2: ENGLISH *SILVER LOCUSTS* TEXT, WITH 15 STORIES:

The Silver Locusts. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, [September] 1951. English first edition. Deletes "Usher II" and adds "November 2002: The Fire Balloons."

———. London: Corgi, 1956. First English paperback edition.

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The Martian Chronicles. London and NY: Granada, 1979. Paperback. First printing of *The Silver Locusts* text under *The Martian Chronicles* title. Includes a cover scene from the NBC TV mini-series.

———. London and NY: Granada, [1980]. Hardback printing of *The Silver Locusts* text under *The Martian Chronicles* title.

**VARIANT 3: ENGLISH MARTIAN CHRONICLES TEXT,
WITH 16 STORIES:**

———. [London]: The Science Fiction Book Club, [1953]. Adds "May 2003: The Wilderness" to *The Silver Locusts* text.

VARIANT 4: THE COMPLETE TEXT, WITH 17 STORIES:

The Martian Chronicles. NY: Time, Inc., 1963. Paperback. Contains the original Doubleday text plus "The Fire Balloons" and "The Wilderness."

———. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973. Hardcover. Includes illustrations from the 1971 Italian edition and a profile and bibliography by William F. Nolan.

———. Avon, CT: The Limited Editions Club, 1974. Illustrated by Joseph Mugnaini. Adds a nine-page introduction by Martin Gardner.

———. Avon, CT: Heritage Club, 1976. Illustrated by Joseph Mugnaini.

———. NY: Bantam Books, 1979. Illustrated (b&w) by Ian Miller.

**VARIANT 5: THE "RESTORED" ORIGINAL TEXT, WITH
16 STORIES:**

The Martian Chronicles. NY: Doubleday, 1990. Fortieth Anniversary edition. Restores "November 2002: The Fire Balloons" to the original text.

APPENDIX C

UNCHRONICLED MARTIAN STORIES

These Martian tales never appeared in *The Martian Chronicles*. They are listed in order of first publication; unpublished manuscripts, listed alphabetically, conclude the listing.

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PUBLISHED STORIES:

- "The Piper"** (as Ron Reynolds). *Futura Fantasia* No. 4 [September 1940].
- "The Piper"** (revised). *Thrilling Wonder Stories* February 1943.
- "The Visitor."** *Startling Stories* November 1948. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951).
- "I, Mars."** *Super Science Stories* April 1949. Collected in *I Sing the Body Electric* (1969), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "Night Call, Collect."
- "The One Who Waits."** *The Arkham Sampler* Summer 1949. Collected in *The Machineries of Joy* (1964).
- "The Lonely Ones."** *Startling Stories* July 1949.
- "The Naming of Names."** *Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1949. Appears in the A- and B-Chronologies of *The Martian Chronicles*; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *A Medicine for Melancholy* (1959).
- "Holiday."** *The Arkham Sampler* Autumn 1949.
- "The Mad Wizards of Mars."** *Maclean's* (Canada) 15 September 1949. Possibly corresponds to "The October Man" in the A-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles*; appears in the B-Chronology as "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars"; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951), as "The Exiles."
- "Payment in Full."** *Thrilling Wonder Stories* February 1950.
- "Death Wish."** *Planet Stories* Fall 1950. Collected in *Long After Midnight* (1976), as "The Blue Bottle."
- "The Other Foot."** *New Story* March 1951. Appears in the B-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles* as "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?"; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951) as "The Other Foot."
- "The Strawberry Window."** *Star Science Fiction Stories* 3 (NY: Ballantine, 1954). Collected in *A Medicine for Melancholy* (1959).
- "The Lost City of Mars."** *Playboy* January 1967. Collected in *I Sing the Body Electric* (1969).
- "The Messiah."** *Welcome Aboard* (Great Britain) Spring 1971. Collected in *Long After Midnight* (1976). Adapted (by other writers) for the NBC teleplay of *The Martian Chronicles* (1979).

"The Aqueduct." Privately printed as *The Aqueduct*. Glendale, CA: Roy Squire Press, 1979. Collected in *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980).

"The Love Affair." Privately printed as *Love Affair*. Northridge, CA: Lord John Press, 1982. Appears in the A-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles*; deleted from the B-Chronology. Collected in *The Toynbee Convector*, 1988.

UNPUBLISHED STORIES, BRIDGES, AND FRAGMENTS:

Copies or originals of these typescripts are located in William F. Nolan's Bradbury Collection at Bowling Green State University, or in private collections.

"Christmas on Mars." TS., 6 page story. According to William F. Nolan, the typescript was sold to *Esquire* for a holiday issue, probably in the early 1950's, but never went to press. Probably never intended for *The Martian Chronicles*.

"The Disease." TS., 4 page "bridge" section with title page (pulled from printer's copy). Identified in the A-, B-, and C-Chronologies, but deleted from the first edition prior to publication.

"Fly Away Home." TS., 15-page story with title page dated March 3rd, 1952. Probably never intended for *The Martian Chronicles*.

"Martian Bulwark." TS., 19 pages. Dates from 1942-44, and includes a cover page from Julius Schwartz, Bradbury's first agent.

"The Martian Ghosts." TS., two versions, totalling 6 pages.

"They All Had Grandfathers." TS., 13 pages with title page (pulled from printer's copy). Appears in all three *Martian Chronicles* planning chronologies, but deleted prior to publication.

"The Wheel." TS., 1 page "bridge" section with chronology title page (pulled from printer's copy). Identified in the C-Chronology, but deleted from the first edition prior to publication.

Three untitled single-page story fragments and two "bridge" sections titled **"Thistle-Down and Fire"** (1 page) and **"Fire and the Stars"** (2 pages). According to William F. Nolan, these fragments and bridges were originally intended for *The Martian Chronicles*, but were never completed.

Notes

¹Ray Bradbury, "The Long Road to Mars," foreword to *The Martian Chronicles* (NY: Doubleday, 1990), pp. viii-ix. Written

for the Fortieth Anniversary Edition. Further references to the foreword are noted parenthetically in the text as *MC40*.

²The relevant portion of Professor Mogen's 1980 interview with Bradbury appears in Mogen's *Ray Bradbury* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986), p. 84. In this interview Bradbury relates a more detailed version of the *Winesburg* connection, and identifies Henry Kuttner as the writer who first introduced him to Anderson's novel.

³Nolan, William F., *The Ray Bradbury Companion* (Detroit: Gale, 1975), p. 43. This work remains the primary published source of accurate biographical and bibliographical information on Ray Bradbury. Mr. Nolan's experiences as a science fiction writer, editor, and long-time friend of Ray Bradbury provided the basic materials for this study. I am deeply grateful to Bill Nolan and to Professor Donn A. Albright of the Pratt Art Institute, whose long friendship with Bradbury and first-hand knowledge of his work were indispensable in solving many publishing mysteries of *The Martian Chronicles*. I am also indebted to Donn Albright and to Mr. Jim Welsh of Bethesda Maryland for providing materials from their forthcoming comprehensive bibliography of Bradbury's work.

⁴Moskowitz, Sam, introduction to the original version of "The Piper," reprinted in *Futures to Infinity*, ed. Sam Moskowitz (NY: Pyramid, 1970), pp. 181-82.

⁵The original outlines used as Figures 1-4 are the creation and property of Ray Bradbury. Figures 1 and 3 were previously published by William F. Nolan in *The Ray Bradbury Companion* (1975); Figures 2 and 4 are first published here. Permission to reproduce these materials has been granted by Ray Bradbury. Further reproduction of these materials requires the same permission.

⁶The complete publication history for each of the *Chronicles* chapters is located in Appendix A; book publication history of *The Martian Chronicles* appears in Appendix B. Page numbers for the magazine and first edition passages quoted in this article appear parenthetically in the text. Permission to reprint major passages from the magazine and first edition texts of "There Will Come Soft Rains" / "August 2026: There Will Come Soft Rains" has been granted by the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company and by Ray Bradbury. Permission to reprint major passages from the magazine and first edition texts of "Mars Is Heaven!" / "April 2000: The Third Expedition" has been granted by Ray Bradbury. Further publication of these materials requires the same permissions.

⁷In his preface to a reprint of "Ylla" in August Derleth's *The Outer Reaches* (NY: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1951), Bradbury describes how he drafted the story seven times before initial publication in *McLean's* 1 January 1950 issue. Only Bill Nolan's copy of the final typescript stage survives, but this acknowledged process of revision reveals how "Ylla" stands as the transitional project between the earlier three stories of first contact and the

revised form of these stories as they finally appear in *The Martian Chronicles*.

⁸The major discussions of the frontier themes in *The Martian Chronicles* and other Bradbury fiction include David Mogen, *Ray Bradbury*, pp. 63-93, and his two contributions to the Science Fiction Westerns series, *Wilderness Visions* and *New Frontiers, Old Horizons* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1981 and 1987). Other significant studies precede Mogen, and include: Wayne Johnson, *Ray Bradbury* (NY: Ungar, 1980), pp. 112-19; Edward Gallagher, "The Thematic Structure of *The Martian Chronicles*," in *Ray Bradbury*, ed. Martin Greenberg and Joseph Olander (NY: Taplinger, 1980), pp. 55-82; and Gary Wolfe, "The Frontier Myth in Ray Bradbury," also in Greenberg and Olander's *Ray Bradbury*, pp. 33-54.

⁹The principal examination of Faulkner's process of revision in *Go Down, Moses* remains Joanne Creighton's *William Faulkner's Craft of Revision* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), pp. 85-148. Relevant bibliographical studies include James B. Meriwether's "The Short Fiction of William Faulkner: A Bibliography," in *Proof 1* (1971): pp. 293-329, and Joseph Blotner's endnotes to *Uncollected Stories of William Faulkner*, ed. Joseph Blotner (NY: Random House, 1979). Of the many published checklists of collections, the most useful is Meriwether's *The Literary Career of William Faulkner: A Bibliographical Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library, 1961; reissued University of South Carolina Press, 1971).

¹⁰Isherwood's groundbreaking review appeared in *Tomorrow* (October 1950), pp. 56-58.

¹¹As one might expect, the revisions to "I'll Not Look for Wine" ["Ylla"], "Carnival of Madness" ["Usher II"] and "Impossible!" ["The Martian"] are the lightest—these three stories were published in periodicals after Bradbury completed revisions for book publication in the fall of 1949, and show considerable effects of this revising process in the magazine versions. Nevertheless, each appears in *The Martian Chronicles* with a new title and several hundred words of revised or new text.

¹²Research by Donn Albright and Jim Welsh for their forthcoming Bradbury bibliography *October's Friend* reveals a total of 144 anthology and textbook reprints of *Martian Chronicle* chapters through 1992—including 47 different textbook reprints of "There Will Come Soft Rains."